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TABLE I

PRINCIPAL CULTURE SEQUENCES IN MIDDLE, NORTH, AND SOUTH AMERICA

Approximate Dates	NORTH AMERICA		MIDDLE AMERICA						SOUTH AMERICA		Approximate Dates
	U.S. Southeast	U.S. Southwest	Central Mexico	Cholula	Oaxaca	Vera Cruz	Highland Maya	Lowland Maya	Peru North Coast	Peru South Highland	
			Mixteca-Puebla Period								
1600		Pueblo V									1600
1500	Temple Mound II		Aztec 4	Cholula 5	Monte Alban 5		Chipal 3		Late Chimu plus Incs		1500
1400	Temple Mound I	Pueblo IV	Aztec 3			Cempoala		Chichen Itza 3	Inca Conquest	Inca	1400
1300	Burial Mound II		Aztec 2	Cholula 4					Late Chimu		1300
1200	Burial Mound I	Pueblo III	Aztec 1				Chipal 2	Chichen Itza 2		Inca Conquest	1200
1100			Mazapan	Cholula 3		Cerro Montoso			Black-White-Red		1100
			Late Independent Civilizations								
1000	Early Stages	Pueblo II	Teotihuacan 5		Monte Alban 4		Chipal 1	San José 3-5		Decadent Tiahuanaco	1000
900			Teotihuacan 4			Ranchito de las Animas	Chamá 4	Uaxactun 3	Tiahuanaco		900
800		Pueblo I	Teotihuacan 3			Tres Zapotes 3	Chamá 3	Holmul 5	Gallinazo-Chavin II	Chiripa	800

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			Full Independent Civilizations								
700					Monte Alban 3		Kaminaljuyú		Early Chimu B	Pukara Classic Tiahuanaco	700
600		Basket Maker III	Teotihuacan 2	Cholula 2			Chamá 2	San José 2 Holmul 3-4 Uaxactun 2			600
500											500
400		Basket Maker II	Teotihuacan 1 Cuicuilco Ticoman Gualupita 2		Monte Alban 2	Tres Zapotes 2	Chamá 1	Holmul 1	Early Chimu A		400
			Middle Cultures								
300		Basket Maker I(?)	Gualupita 1	Cholula 1	Monte Alban 1	Tres Zapotes 1		Uaxactun 1b	Chavin I	Early Tiahuanaco	300
200			Copilco-Zacatenco			La Venta		Uaxactun 1a			200
100			Early Zacatenco				Miraflores				100
0			Early El Arbolillo 1								0
100											100
200											200
			Early Cultures								
1000											1000
2000		Desert Cultures (?) Cochise									2000
5000										Argentine Caves	5000
10000		Folsom									10000
20000											20000

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172 174 Hill of the Star, behind Culhuacan. Dr Tozzer, who named the ware, found it mixed with late Teotihuacan material at the type site, but my wife and I excavated a Teotihuacan site of the same period without finding a single sherd among the 200,000 fragments we examined. At one or two places west of Tenayuca, Coyotlatelco sherds have appeared with Mazapan material. Mr Noguera found the extreme limit in lateness at Tenayuca where Coyotlatelco and Aztec II fragments were mixed. The geographical and chronological associations of this ware suggest that the makers were Culhuas or Tepanecs.

A 172 174 Culhuacan, so important in the annals as the seat of a famous line of chiefs, shows today little sign of its past greatness. Yet excavations undertaken twenty-five years ago prove that its historical importance was not overestimated, for it seems to have been the base from which Aztec culture spread over the Valley. Pottery, so dismal to read about, so important in reflecting tribal patterns, tells the story of this process.*

A 172 174 [796] Aztec pottery is found everywhere in the Valley of Mexico, and, due to the Aztec custom of destroying household goods at the end of each fifty-two-year cycle, it can be identified in terms of relatively exact periods: IV, 1507–19 (the date of the Spanish Conquest, which prevented the cyclical celebration of 1559); IIIb, 1455–1507; IIIa, 1403–55; II early and late, perhaps a century prior to 1403, and I. Periods III and IV are represented everywhere. Period II is common on the mainland but less so in Tenochtitlan, which was politically insignificant until after 1400. To date, Period I is represented in quantity only at Culhuacan. The standard ware of Periods II–IV goes through a consecutive evolution but has a close

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generic resemblance throughout, while Period I pottery is much closer to the fine orange wares of Puebla which were traded widely throughout southeastern Mexico. There is also a trade connection between Aztec I and Mazapan.* (See Plates 25, 29.)

In the history of Culhuácán digested on pp. 72–73 the fact was noted that there was first a Toltec dynasty, which was succeeded by a Chichimec or foreign regime. It may not be stretching the manipulations of the historian too far if we suggest that the Culhuas changed their culture with their dynasty. Coyotlatelco ceramics, which have vague affiliations with Teotihuacan pottery, may represent the material culture of the Toltec dynasty, while the Aztec I pottery, completely alien to the preceding styles, seems to embody the material presence of the new regime.

Seeming confirmation of this situation comes from the site of Tenayuca, where great Mexican archaeologists like the late José Reygadas Vertiz, Ignacio Marquina, Alfonso Caso, Eduardo Noguera and others have carried out a superb dissection of one of the temples. It was completely rebuilt five, or possibly six, times. The renovation answered the ceremonial requirement of rebuilding and refurnishing at the beginning of each fifty-two-year cycle in compensation for the destruction at the close of the previously elapsed period. As the site was occupied during the Conquest, the reconstructions probably followed the cyclical ceremonies of 1507, 1455, 1403, 1351 and 1299, with the first building erected some time earlier. The fourth, fifth and sixth constructions (1403, 1455, 1507) are purely Aztec; the third temple built (1351) is a transition between the Aztec style and the simpler, more archaic methods employed in the two earliest

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A 172 346 structures (1299 and the original temple). The three completely developed Aztec temples correspond closely to the distribution of Aztec III and IV pottery, between 1403 and 1519. The transitional temple and the second building suggest that cyclical renovations were adopted everywhere along with the Aztec II pottery of the fourteenth century. The original platform of this Tenayuca temple could have been constructed almost any time in the thirteenth century, since the building of a shrine did not entail the celebration of the beginning of a fifty-two-year cycle.[10] (See Plates 25; 26, bottom; 29.)

A 174 The Aztec civilization was brought into the valley at Culhuacan, where it gradually supplanted the defined local cultures. Where, then, was its true source? The most probable answer is Cholula, in the state of Puebla, where still exists the largest structure in the world in terms of cubic content. The devoted group of Mexican archaeologists, whose co-ordinated efforts have organized the rich background of their Indian past, have been analyzing this monument by excavation and archival research for many years. The results are important. (See Plate 26, top, middle.)

P 174 346 Originally Cholula was occupied by an Upper Middle Culture tribe which later fell under the domination of Teotihuacan-Toltec civilization. At this time the inhabitants built a large ceremonial precinct, a maze of temples, platforms and stairs, constructed of rubble covered with plaster. Eventually newcomers, possibly with the aid of the resident population, performed the stupendous task of converting the Toltec precinct into a single great platform, traditionally in honor of the god Quetzalcoatl. This mammoth construction entailed filling in every building and courtyard with

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Mexican origin spread through the length and breadth of Middle America. Just so the Christian religion had a ready acceptance in Indian America when the missionaries were backed by such redoubtable exponents of our gentle faith as Cortes, Pizarro and their coadjutors.

TABLE VI

SUMMARY OF CHICHIMEC AND DYNASTIC TOLTEC HISTORY

950–1100, Early Chichimec Period

Eastern Phase: Contact with Toltecs at Tula (Teotihuacan) under Xolotl; Tenayuca I pottery; rude culture.

Western Phase: Teotihuacan V and western Toltec Empire at Tula (Azcapotzalco).

1100–1247, Middle Chichimec Period

Eastern Phase: Tenayuca occupation by immigrants; replacement of Toltecs at Tula (Tula); tribal government; foundation of Texcocan Chichimec lineage in 1232; development of fiefs; introduction of Mazapan culture.

Western Phase: Destruction of Toltecs at Tula (Azcapotzalco); movement to Culhuacan; foundation of Culhuacan "Toltec" lin-

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eage in 1114; adoption of Coyotlatelco ceramics; first Aztec cycle counted, 1143–95; second Aztec cycle counted, 1195–1247.

		Rulers		
Culhuacan	*Cuauhtitlan*	*Cuitlahuac*	*Texcoco*	*Tenochtitlan*
Nauhyotl (d. 1124 after 60 years)			Xolotl 1115–1232	
Cozcuhtzapetlatzin 1124–81	Teiztlacohuatzin 1160–1226			
Huetzin 1181–1202				
Nonoalcatl 1202–1223				
Achitometl 1223–37	Quinatzin 1226–99			
Cuauhtonal 1237–51				

1247–99, Late Chichimec-Aztec I Period

Eastern Phase: Establishment of Texcoco as Chichimec capital under Quinatzin in 1298; persistence of Mazapan culture in east; penetration of Coyotlatelco and temple cult to Tenayuca(?).

Western Phase: Foundation of new dynasty at Culhuacan in 1251; introduction of Aztec I pottery at Culhuacan, with Puebla origins; construction of Building I at Tenayuca(?); Cholula rebuilt (Altar de los Craneos); Cholula III pottery; Tenochcas at Chapultepec; third Aztec cycle counted, 1247–99.

Culhuacan	*Cuauhtitlan*	*Cuitlahuac*	*Texcoco*	*Tenochtitlan*
New Lineage Mazatzin 1251–74			*Lineage Begins* Nopaltzin 1232–63	
Quetzaltzin 1274–87		Cozcomatzin 1282–88	Tlotzin 1263–98	Huitzilhuitl 1235–98
Chalchihuitlcoxcox 1287–1304				

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TABLE VII

MIGRANT TRIBES, ACCORDING TO VARIOUS AUTHORITIES, COMPARED TO CERAMIC GROUPS IN CENTRAL MEXICO

	Histoire Mexicaine[a]	*Codex of 1576*[b]	*Codex of 1576*[c]	*Cuba—ed. Muñoz Camargo*[d]	*Historia de los Mexicanos*[e]	*Codice Ramirez*[f]	*Codex Boturini*[g]	*Durán*[h]	*Sahagun*[i]	*Codex Telleriano—Remensis*[j]	*Codex Vaticanus A*[k]	*Clavigero*[l]	*Motolinia*[m]	*Muñoz Camargo*[n]	*de Mendieta*[o]	*Suggested Correlation of Pottery Styles with Tribal Groups*
Aztec	x	x	(x)*	–	x	x	(x)*	(x)*	(x)*	–	–	(x)*	x	–	x	Regulation Aztec of Tenochtitlan[p]
Zochimilca	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	–	–	–	x	–	–	–	(?)
Tepaneca	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	–	–	x	–	(x)*	–	Tenayuca II (?)[q]
Acolhua	–	x	–	–	[x]†	–	–	–	x	–	–	–	(x)*	(x)*	–	Mazapan[r]
Culhua	–	–	–	x	x	x	–	x	–	–	–	x	–	(x)*	–	Culhuacan (like Aztec)[s]
Cuitlahuaca	x	x*	x	–	–	–	x*	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(?)
Chalca	x	–	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	–	–	x	–	(x)*	–	Some styles resemble Cholula wares[v]
Tlahuica	–	–	–	–	–	x	–	x	–	–	–	x	–	–	–	Guaiupita III[t]
Tlaxcaltecs	–	–	–	–	[x]†	x	–	x	x	–	–	x	(x)*	–	–	Some styles resemble Cholula wares[v]
Cholultecs	–	x*	–	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	Cholula wares[v]
Huexotzincs	x	x	x	x	[x]†	–	x	–	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	(?)
Matlatzincs	x	–	x	x	–	–	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	Matlatzinca[u]
Malinalca	x	–	x	–	–	–	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(?)
Quauhquechollan-Xelhua	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	x	–	x	–	(?)

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Chichimecs	x	–	x	x	–	–	x	–	–	x	x	–	(x)*	–	–		(?)
Nonoalca	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	x	x	–	–	–	–		(?)
Michoaca	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	x	x	–	(x)*	–	–		(?)
Coixca	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	x	x	–	–	–	–		(?)
Totonaca	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	x	x	–	–	–	–		(?)
Cuextca	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	x	x	–	–	–	–		(?)
Xicalanga-Olmeca	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	x	x	–	x	(x)*	x		(?)
Mixteca	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	x	–	x		Monte Alban 5**
Otomi	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	x	–	x		(?)

*Implied but not specifically listed.

†"These people, say the Mexicans, and no more sallied forth, although those of Tezcoco and Tlaxcala and Huexotzinca boast . . . that they too . . . are also of that land." Phillips, Codex Ramirez, 1883, p. 615.

[1]Histoire Mexicaine in Boban, Documents, 1891, Pl. 60.

[2]Codex of 1590 in Boban, Documents, 1891, Pl. 24; Muñoz Camargo, Historia, 1892, p. 8, footnote.

[3]Codex of 1576 in Aubin, Histoire, 1893, p. 4, both of text and translation.

[4]Muñoz Camargo, Historia, 1892, p. 7. A footnote by Chavero gives a list taken from Cuadro Historico-Jeroglifico de la Peregrinacion de las Tribus Aztecas Que Poblaron el Valle de Mexico, No. 2, published in the Atlas Geografico of Antonio Garcia Cubas, Mexico, 1858, usually called the Codex Boturini.

[5]Phillips, Codex Ramirez, 1883, pp. 624–25. Forty tribes.

[6]Historia de los Mexicanos in Biblioteca Mexicana, 1878, p. 18.

[7]Radin, Sources, 1920, p. 33, Pl. I taken from Kingsborough, Vol. 1.

[8]Duran, Historia de las Indias, I, 1867, p. 10.

[9]Sahagun, Historia General, 1938, Vol. 3, Book 11.

[10]Codex Telleriano-Remensis, 1899, p. 34, Pl. 25.

[11]Codex Vaticanus A, 1900, Pl. 67.

[12]Clavigero, History, 1787.

[13]Motolinia, Historia, 1914, pp. 7–10.

[14]Muñoz Camargo, Historia, 1892, pp. 5–68. The list of tribes given under this authority has been extracted at random points from the text. Muñoz Camargo does not specify the list of migrants.

[15]de Mendieta, Historia, 1870, p. 145.

[16]Noguera, Caracteristicas de Ceramica, 1930, Pl. 32.

[17]Noguera, in Tenayuca, 1935.

[18]Vaillant, Correlation, 1938.

[19]Boas, Album, 1911–12, Pls. 1–36; Brenner, Influence of Technique, 1931.

[20]Chavero, in Muñoz Camargo, Historia, 1892, p. 7, misreads this sign Cholula.

[21]Radin, Sources, 1920, misreads this sign Cholula.

[22]Vaillant and Vaillant, Gualupita, 1935, Figs. 19, 27.

[23]Noguera, Caracteristicas de Ceramica, 1930, Pl. 31.

[24]Peñafiel, Nomenclatura Geografica, 1897, gives this sign as Cholula.

[25]Noguera, Caracteristicas de Ceramica, 1930, Pl. 31.

[26]Noguera, Caracteristicas de Ceramica, 1930, Pl. 6.

**Caso, Monte Alban, 1938.

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TABLE VIII

SUMMARY OF AZTEC HISTORY BEFORE THE RISE OF TENOCHTITLAN

1299–1351, Early Aztec II Period

Eastern Phase: Introduction of picture writing and other arts at Texcoco by people from the Mixteca; adoption of Aztec IIa pottery.

Western or Culhua Phase: Cyclical reconstruction at Tenayuca, Building II; adoption of Aztec IIa pottery, retention of Coyotlatelco (?) pottery; revolt of Tenochcas at Chapultepec, settlement of Tenochtitlan; fourth Aztec cycle counted, 1299–1351.

Culhuacan	*Cuauhtitlan*	*Culhuacan*	*Texcoco*	*Tenochtitlan*
Cuauhtlix 1304–11	Tezcatlecuatli 1299–1338	Mishuatonaltzin 1290–1300		
Yohuallatonac 1311–21		Axayaltzin 1300–68		Tenoch (?)
Tzihuiteuctzin 1321–34	Vactli 1339–49	Atzitzimaltzin 1308–24	Quinatzin 1298–1357	
Xihuitlemoc 1334–52		Totepeuhtecutli 1324–43		*Lineage Begins*
		Epcoatzin 1343–54		Queen Ilancueitl 1349–83

1351–1403, Late Aztec II Period

Eastern Phase: Unification of language by Techotlala; political and cultural dominance of Texcoco; Aztec IIb pottery and homogeneity of culture; Cholula IV pottery; cyclical dumps at Chiconauhtla.

Western Phase: Decadence of Culhuacan; rise of Tepanecs at Azcapotzalco; cyclical reconstruction of Tenayuca, Building IV, Aztec transition; captive Tenochcas escape to build in stone and adopt lineage pattern with Acamapichtli; fifth Aztec cycle counted, 1351–1403.

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Culhuacan	*Cuauhtitlan*	*Cuitlahuac*	*Texcoco*	*Tenochtitlan*
Coxcox 1352–76	Queen Ehualyenitzin 1368–72	Quetzalmichin 1354–65		
				Acamapichtli 1375–95
Acamapichtli 1376–88	Tematzacocuitzin 1373–78	Mamatzin 1369–89	Techodala 1357–1409	
Achitometl 1388–1400	Tlacateotzin 1379–89	Pichatzin 1389–92		Huitzilhuitl II 1395–1414

TABLE IX

SUMMARY OF AZTEC HISTORY AFTER THE RISE OF TENOCHTITLAN

1403–55, Early Aztec III Period

Eastern Phase: Political elimination of Texcoco in first half of period with later recovery; prosperity and cultural advance under Nezahualcoyotl; expansion of palace at Chiconauhtla; Aztec IIIa pottery; Cholula V pottery; cyclical dumps at Chiconauhtla and Los Melones, Texcoco.

Western Phase: Political extinction of Culhuacan; rise and fall of Tepanecs; rise of Tenochtitlan with organization of Triple Alliance; growth of conquest and war-captive pattern; cyclical reconstruction at Tenayuca, Building IV; cyclical dump in Zocalo, Mexico City; broad diffusion of Aztec IIIa pottery; sixth Aztec cycle counted, 1403–55.

Culhuacan	*Cuauhtitlan*	*Cuitlahuac*	*Texcoco*	*Tenochtitlan*
Nauhyotl 1400–13	Xaltemoc 1390–98 (1408)	Tepolcamayotl 1393–1415	Ixtlilxochitl 1409–18	Chimalpopoca 1414–28
			Tepanec Tyrants	
			Tezozomoc 1343–1427	Itzcoatl 1428–40
			Maxtla 1427–29	
			Texcocan Lineage Resumed Nezahualcoyotl 1418–72	Montezuma I 1440–69

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1455–1507, Late Aztec III Period

172 174 175 *Eastern Phase:* Continued development of culture at Texcoco; growth of Chiconauhtla palace; elaboration of ceramics; Aztec IIIb pottery; cyclical dump at Chiconauhtla.

Western Phase: Political power of Tenochtitlan; extension of conquest over Mexico and Guatemala; reconstruction of great temple; increase in captive sacrifice; elaboration of ritual; diffusion of Aztec IIIb pottery; cyclical reconstruction at Tenayuca, Building V; cyclical dump at Nonoalco, Mexico City; seventh Aztec cycle counted, 1455–1507.

Culhuacan	*Cuauhtitlan*	*Cuitlahuac*	*Texcoco*	*Tenochtitlan*
unimportant	unimportant	unimportant	Nezahualpilli 1472–1516	Axayacatl 1469–81
				Tizoc 1481–86
				Ahuitzotl 1486–1503

1507–1519 (Conquest) Aztec IV

Eastern Phase: Growing friction between Texcoco and Tenochtitlan; last expansion of Chiconauhtla palace; Aztec IV pottery styles with good life forms. Conquest.

Western Phase: Tenochtitlan domination with coercion of Texcoco; maintenance of old conquests rather than success of new ones; cyclical reconstruction of Tenayuca, Building VI; Aztec IV pottery with many life forms; eighth Aztec cycle counted, 1507–59, incomplete with Conquest.

Texcoco	*Tenochtitlan*
Cacama 1516–19	Montezuma II 1503–20
	Cuitlahuac 1520 (4 months)
	Cuauhtemoc 1520–24 (murdered on way to Honduras)

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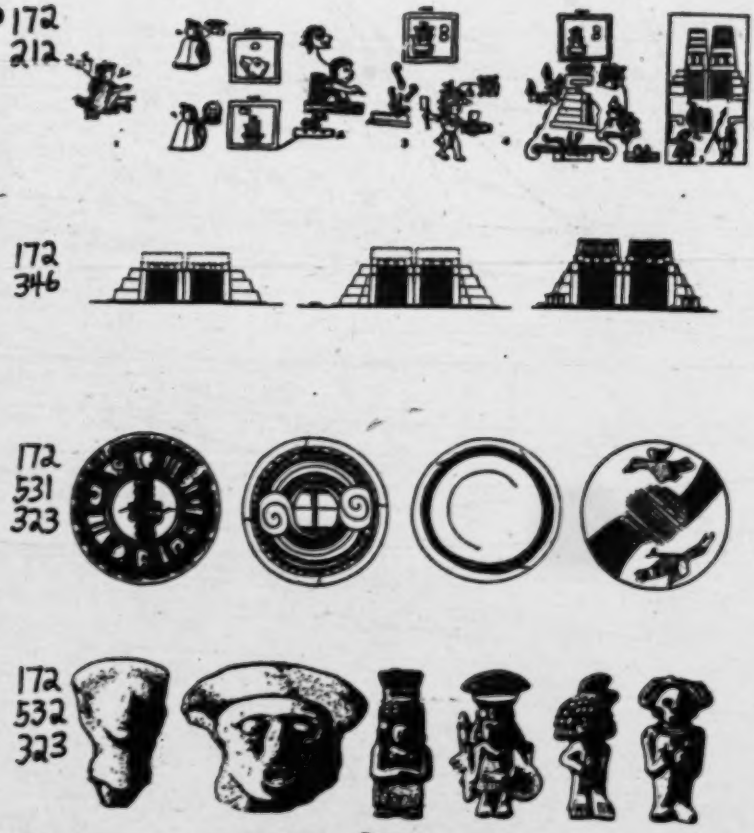

PLATE 29

CHART SHOWING NATURE OF AZTEC ARCHAEOLOGICAL MATERIAL

TOP ROW: Excerpts from historical picture manuscripts. 1. Arrival of the nations, in 1300, who brought a knowledge of writing (Mapa Quinatzin); 2. New Fire Ceremony of 1403; 3. New Fire Ceremony of 1455; 4. New Fire Ceremony of 1507 (2–4 from Codex Tellerianо-Remensis); 5. The capture of Tenochtitlan in 1519 (Codex of 1576). SECOND ROW: Last three constructions at Tenayuca, corresponding perhaps to the cyclical renovations of 1403, 1455 and 1507. THIRD ROW: *First three*, Aztec pottery, Types II, IIIa, IIIb, found respectively in the cyclical dumps for 1403, 1455, 1507, and a *fourth* type, IV, made from 1507 through the Spanish Conquest of 1520–21. FOURTH ROW: *First two*, Aztec figurines made prior to 1403. *Last four*, made between 1403 and the Conquest, representing Xochiquetzal, Xipe, Xochipilli and Tonantzin respectively.

[p. 96(A)]

10:Deevey N-4 (no date)1957 NU7 Aztec NU7

conception of city states within the Valley that owes much to the history of Greece and medieval Italy.

For the special purpose of this limnologic history, we need to wade into the "inextricable maraña" at only one or two points. On one point the sources, such as they are, are almost unanimous: there was a city called Tollán or Tula ("place of reeds" i. e. of *Typha,* the modern *tule*). Tollán is where the Toltecs came from, etymologically at least; the Toltecs were the predecessors of the Aztecs and the other Valley peoples, and were also regarded as ancestors by the Mexicanized Mayas of Yucatán, with whose tangled history we are fortunately not concerned here. The chief source of confusion, apart from the loss of the documents themselves, is the tendency, surely not a post-Conquest invention, for the relatively barbaric Valley people to identify themselves dynastically with the legendary founders of the civilization they inherited. The cultural picture is not an unfamiliar one, and probably was in actuality similar to that presented by the Etruscan foundations of Roman civilization; unfortunately, it comes to us on the testimony of friars who were only too well aware of such historic parallels, and could not refrain from asking leading questions. Be that as it may, Vaillant (1941), on the basis of archaeologic and historic researches, arrived at a satisfying conception of Aztec prehistory, in which the real and classic Tula (Tollán) was Teotihuacán, while memories of it played out their part in synthetic genealogies of "dynastic Toltecs", the chiefs of the wandering "Chichimec" tribes who entered the Valley after the decline of Tula in the 12th century.

Vaillant's picture was considerably upset by the excavations at Tula, Hidalgo (Acosta, 1940, 1941, 1944; see also Du Solier, 1941, and other papers in *Revista Mexicana de Estudios Antropológicos,* T. 5, no. 2–3, 1941). These showed clearly that Tula, not Teotihuacán, was the Tollán from which emanated the Mexicanization of Chichén Itzá. Thus Tula was the Mayas' Tula, but whether it was necessarily the Mexicans' Tula is not so easily admitted, and is still in sharp dispute. What interests us here is whether Tula was a lacustrine city, for Teotihuacán was not.

The Codex Ramírez, authoritatively regarded as a manuscript copy of the *Relación del origén de los yndios,* probably 1583–87, by the Mexican Jesuit Juan de Tovar (see Kubler and Gibson, 1951, for discussion), is one of several almost identical histories of the migration period from the Aztec (i. e. not from the Texcocan) point of view. It happens to be the only one of which a convenient English translation exists (Radin, 1920), and from it we quote the following account of Tula.

"The remainder of the community with their chief and their ark

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

and it is not improbable that the celebrated "pyramid of Xochicalco" may yet prove to have been a fortified pueblo, analogous to or of the type just described.[186]

"the third is 18 feet within the second, and is, in its highest part, 14 feet in elevation. The "total elevation of the works is therefore 59 feet." According to the descriptions of Tezozomoc and Durán the fortifications of Quetzaltepec were very similar to, only perhaps more extensive, even, than those of the Inca stronghold, at Cuzco. In the art of fortification, however, the Inca of Peru were far in advance of the other American aborigines. Nowhere else, on this continent, do we find anything near alike to Ollantay-tambo, Pisac, or Piquillacta. Mexican fortified pueblos were probably analogous to the "pucara" or strongholds of the Aymara Indians on the Bolivian high-plateau. (See E. G. Squier: "Peru, Incid. of Travel and Explor. in the land of the Incas," New York, 1877.)

[186] "Xochicalco." the "place of the house of flowers" ("xochitl," flower, — "calli." house). is situated near Temisco, S. E. of Cuernavaca (the ancient "Quauhnahuac"), in the State of Mexico proper. The pyramid was probably first described by Don Joseph Antonio Alzate y Ramirez, Mexico, 1791. "Descripcion de las Antiquidades de "Xochicalco." Robertson (Note XXXIX, to p. 139, of vol. III) describes a pyramid: "a "temple near Cuernavaca, on the road from Mexico to Acapulco.' The most complete descriptions, however, are those of Pietro Marquez ("Due antichi monumenti di architettura Messicana," Roma, 1804); of Baron A. von Humboldt ("Vues des Cordillères "et Monuments des peuples indigènes de l'Amérique," pp. 129 to 137 of the Edition 8vo "of 1816, vol. I, and plate No. IX of the Atlas in folio); of Nebel; of E. Tylor ("Anahuac"), and of Brantz-Mayer ("Mexico as it was and as it is," 3d Edition, 1847). Lord Kingsborough has of course furnished splendid illustrations of the monument, in vol. IV of the "Antiquities of Mexico," and a description by Capt. Dupaix, in vol. VI, p. 430. Also has Mr. H. H. Bancroft, with the usual faithfulness to his sources, characteristic of this eminent compilator. We quote from Brantz-Mayer (p. 178): "From this eminence the guide . . . . pointed out to me a small mountain, at the "extremity of the plain in front, on which was situated the Pyramid of Xochicalco, "the subject of our day's explorations. The *cerro* appears to rise directly out of the "levels between two mountains, and the plain continuing to its very foot, might seemingly be traversed in half an hour." But this intervening space was cut up by deep gullies (barrancas), making the trip to the hill very tedious, difficult, and lengthy. The author's general description of the eminence is as follows (pp. 180 and 181): "At the "distance of six leagues from the city of Cuernevaca, lies a cerro, three hundred feet "in height, which, with the ruins that crown it, is known by the name of Xochicalco, "or 'the Hill of Flowers.' The base of this eminence is surrounded by the very distinct remains of a deep and wide ditch; its summit is attained by five spiral terraces; "the walls that support them are built of stone, joined by cement, and are still quite "perfect; and, at regular distances, as if to buttress these terraces, there are remains "of bulwarks shaped like the bastions of a fortification. The summit of the hill is a "wide esplanade, on the eastern side of which are still perceptible three truncated "cones, resembling the tumuli found among many similar ruins in Mexico. On the "other sides there are also large heaps of stones of irregular shape, which seem to "have formed portions of similar mounds or tumuli, or, perhaps, parts of fortifications "in connection with the wall that is alleged by the old writers to have surrounded the "base of the pyramid, but of which I could discern no traces." On the top of this esplanade there seems to have been an edifice of five terraces (as Alzate relates), or stories, but only the lowest one is yet in existence. Nebel has given an ideal reconstruction of this building ("Viaje pintoresco y arqueologico a' la Republica de Mexico"), also Alzate. Closing his investigation of the ornaments and sculptures still visible in the ruins of the summit, Brantz-Mayer remarks: "The day was far advanced when I "stood for the last time on the corner-stone of the upper terrace and looked at the "beautiful prospect around me. It was the centre of a mighty plain. Running due "north were the remains of an ancient paved road, leading over prairie and barranca

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

But the great majority of the Indian "towns" of Mexico were 000

"to the city (Quanhnahuac) distinctly visible at the foot of the Sierra Madre" (p. 187). 172
Baron Humboldt gives the measurements as follows: Height of the hill from its base, 117 métres (about 380 feet), divided into five tiers. Each tier is about 20 métres high. Circumference of the hill-base about 4,000 métres (13,000 feet). Summit platform 72 métres long, from N. to S., and 36 m. from E. to W. The wall once enclosing this platform was about 2 m. in height. Base of the top-edifice, 20 m. 7' by 17 m. 4'. On the north side there are a number of excavations in the rocks, artificial caverns, whose openings Brantz-Mayer found "at the foot of the first terrace on the northern side of "the hill." These excavations *are said* to have been visited in 1825.

Baron v. Humboldt concludes: "Le fossé dont la colline est entourée, le revêtement "des assises, le grand nombre d'appartemens souterrains creusés dans le roc du coté "du nord, le mur qui défend l'approche de la plate-forme, tout concourt à donner au "monument de Xochicalco le caractère d'un monument militaire. Les naturels désig-"nent même encore aujourd'hui les ruines de la pyramide qui s'élevait au milieu de la "plate-forme, par un nom qui équivaut à celui de château fort ou de citadelle. La "grande analogie de forme que l'on remarque entre cette prétendue citadelle et les mai-"sons des dieux astèques (teocallis), me fait soupçonner que la colline de Xochicalco "n'était autre chose qu'un temple fortifié" (p. 134, vol. I of ed. 8vo).

E. B. Tylor ("Anahuac," Cap. VII, p. 188), speaking of Xochicalco, says: "It was "a fortified hill of great strength." Humboldt makes of it: "a fortified temple." But the hill is too high and too large for such a purpose alone. Besides, the rooms excavated in the rock, analogous to the "cliff-houses" of Arizona, the road leading originally towards Quanhnahuac, the central position of the hill itself;—all tends to indicate that "Xochicalco" was once a *pueblo, fortified after the principles prevailing among the aborigines*, and whose inhabitants dwelt partly in the rock, partly on the tiers or on the esplanade into which the summit had been levelled. The "teocalli," or temple, occupied the hill-top, being there as well in the *centre of the population* as in *any pueblo* situated on the *level of the plain*. The five tiers or terraces were probably lined with wooden parapets, long since decayed, and only the uppermost platform had a stone enclosure.

Another pyramidal structure, found by Capt. Gul. Dupaix, near Old Tepexe, in Tehuantepec, is represented on Plate I, part III, vol. IV, of Lord Kingsborough's "Antiquities of Mexico." It is composed of eight stories or tiers. Capt. Dupaix remarks (Kingsborough, Vol. VI, p. 467): "This wall exhibits a species of fortifications which I "cannot persuade myself was ever known to the inhabitants of the Old Continent." This structure has more analogy, in its outlines, with the picture given by Clavigero of the great "teo-calli" of Mexico, than any other. The drawing by the learned Abbé is entirely faultive as far as the Mexican temple is concerned, but it is not out of place when applied to a fortified pueblo, occupying an entire hill.

When the Mexicans, previous to their flight into Culhuacan and subsequently into 712
the lagune, were hemmed in on the hill of Chapultepec by the tribes of the valley, they [173]
fortified the hill in the following manner, according to Durán (Cap. III, pp. 27 and 28): Their newly elected war-chief (Huitzilhuitl) directed that "along the entire declivity "of the hill many stone walls should be constructed, arising one above the other like "steps, one fathom in width, thus leaving above a spacious square where all gathered "and fortified themselves, keeping watch diligently day and night, placing the women "and children into the centre of their troop, preparing arrows, macanas, darts, cutting "stones, making slings for their defence." According to this paragraph, the hill of Chapultepec would have presented an appearance, perhaps, not entirely dissimilar to that of Xochicalco, or Tepexe,—terraced, like the "andenes" of Peru. Cervántes-Salazar, whose "Tres Diálogos latinos," or "Mexico, in 1554," have been republished, in 1875, by Sr. Icazbalceta (to whose great kindness I take occasion to offer a humble tribute of gratitude), seems to allude to remains of this original grading in his 3d dia-logue, when Alfaro (one of his personages) inquires (p. 277): "Para que son estas gra-"das tan anchas y largas, que llegan hasta arriba, y rodean casi todo el cerro?" Fur-